

## Message Text

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APPROVED BY S:JBREMER

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L/PM:JMICHEL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 156819 TOSEC 050112

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: TU , OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE ON THE  
TURKISH AID EMBARGO (S/S 7513406)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HARTMAN AND JENKINS

### 1. THE PROBLEM.

IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THE ADMINISTRATION'S STRONG  
COMMITMENT TO OUR EFFORT ON THE TURKISH AID EMBARGO WE  
BELIEVE A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE SHOULD BE SENT TO THE  
HOUSE EARLY NEXT WEEK AS A MEANS OF LAUNCHING OUR STRATEGY.

WE WOULD PROPOSE THAT THE MESSAGE BE FORWARDED ON TUESDAY  
MORNING, JULY 8, TO COINCIDE WITH RESUMPTION OF THE RETURN  
OF THE HOUSE FROM ITS RECESS. THIS WOULD THEN FORM THE  
BASIS FOR THE STRATEGY SESSION THAT WE AND WHITE HOUSE  
REPRESENTATIVES EXPECT TO HAVE WITH CHAIRMAN MORGAN AND  
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BROOMFIELD ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 8 ON THE SPECIFIC

LEGISLATION TO BE INTRODUCED. A PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE OF THIS KIND WOULD ALSO SET THE THEME FOR THE INFORMAL SESSION YOU PLAN TO HAVE WITH SELECTED HOUSE MEMBERS ON THE EVENING OF JULY 8 AND FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL BREAKFAST

SESSION ON JULY 9. FINALLY SUCH A MESSAGE WOULD BE USEFUL IN SUPPORT OF ANY ADMINISTRATION WITNESSES SHOULD A DETERMINATION BE MADE BY THE LEADERSHIP THAT COMMITTEE HEARINGS WILL BE HELD.

2. RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU APPROVE THE ATTACHED DRAFT FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE PRESIDENT.

APPROVE -- DISAPPROVE

3. BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE:

I WISH TO SHARE WITH YOU MY CONCERN ABOUT A COMPLEX FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEM--THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, THE THREAT TO OUR NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS, THE PLIGHT OF THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS AND THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES. BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH SHARE A RESPONSIBILITY TO RE-EXAMINE THIS CRITICAL SITUATION WITH CARE. THIS IS NOT A PARTISAN MATTER OR ONE WHERE THE RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF A DECADES-OLD DISPUTE CAN EASILY BE JUDGED--PARTICULARLY BY OUTSIDERS. OUR OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO HELP IN THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF A PROBLEM THAT INVOLVES TWO VALUED ALLIES AND A PEOPLE WHOSE HISTORY AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION HAS BEEN RIVEN BY STRIFE.

I HAVE SPENT MUCH TIME STUDYING THESE ISSUES AND HAVE TALKED IN BRUSSELS TO THE LEADERS OF TURKEY AND GREECE. ON THE BASIS OF MY STUDY, I AM CONVINCED THAT US AND WESTERN SECURITY INTERESTS REQUIRE THE URGENT PASSAGE BY THE HOUSE OF LEGISLATION ENABLING THE RESUMPTION OF OUR LONG-STANDING SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY. THE SENATE HAS ALREADY ACTED FAVORABLY ON A BILL TO ACCOMPLISH

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THIS PURPOSE.

CURRENT LEGISLATION PASSED BY CONGRESS LAST DECEMBER 18, WITH AN EFFECTIVE DATE OF FEBRUARY 5, 1975, HAS BEEN IN FORCE FOR NEARLY FIVE MONTHS. THIS ACTION HAS: (1) CALLED INTO QUESTION THE ABILITY OF AN ALLY TO CONTINUE TO FULFILL ITS ESSENTIAL NATO RESPONSIBILITIES, THUS UNDERMINING NATO'S STRENGTH IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN; (2)

JEOPARDIZED VITAL COMMON DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS WHICH TURKEY AND THE US JOINTLY MAINTAIN; AND (3) REDUCED AMERICAN INFLUENCE TO MOVE THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A PEACEFUL CONCLUSION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES.

THE LEGISLATION VOTED AGAINST TURKEY LAST DECEMBER IS SWEEPING IN ITS EFFECT. IT PROVIDES FOR WHAT AMOUNTS TO A TOTAL EMBARGO, PROHIBITING GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE, CASH AND CREDIT SALES OF DEFENSE ITEMS BY THE US GOVERNMENT, AND THE ISSUANCE OF LICENSES TO PERMIT THE TRANSPORTATION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT PURCHASED FROM US FIRMS. PRACTICALLY ALL NATIONS OF THE WORLD CAN PURCHASE IN THE US AT LEAST SOME ITEMS THAT ARE FORBIDDEN TO TURKEY. IT IS NOW IMPOSSIBLE FOR TURKEY TO PROCURE MOST ITEMS PRODUCED IN THIRD COUNTRIES UNDER US LICENSE; NOR CAN TURKEY EVEN TAKE POSSESSION OF MERCHANDISE IN THE US WHICH IT PAID FOR PRIOR TO FEBRUARY 5 AND WHICH IS NOW READY FOR SHIPMENT. THE EFFECT IS THAT A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE WITH THIS IMPORTANT NATO ALLY, BUILT UP OVER MANY YEARS, HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY ERODED. CONTINUATION OF THE EMBARGO RISKS FURTHER DETERIORATION THAT IS JEOPARDIZING OUR SECURITY INTERESTS THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AREA.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THIS EMBARGO SHOULD BE RESCINDED. THE FORM THAT LEGISLATION SHOULD TAKE TO ACHIEVE THIS END IS FOR CONGRESS ITSELF TO DECIDE, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT ONLY LEGISLATION CAN PRODUCE THE ACTIONS WHICH ARE NECESSARY IN THIS CASE. SOME IN THE CONGRESS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT I USE PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY UNDER THE WAIVER PROVISION OF SECTION 614 OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961 AS AMENDED. HOWEVER, THIS WAIVER PROVISION RELATES ONLY TO GRANT ASSISTANCE. ITS USE ALONE

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DOES NOT GO TO THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM, NAMELY THAT WE HAVE EMBARGOED A NATO ALLY BY LAW. USE OF THE WAIVER AUTHORITY WOULD NOT LIFT THE EMBARGO, AND THEREFORE OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY AND OUR INFLUENCE WOULD REMAIN IMPAIRED.

I KNOW THAT IN THE MINDS OF MANY IN THE CONGRESS THERE IS AN INSEPARABLE LINK BETWEEN THE QUESTION OF TURKISH ARMS AND THE ISSUE OF HOW THOSE ARMS WERE USED LAST SUMMER. BUT THE EFFECT OF THE EMBARGO IS TO ASCRIBE BLAME TOTALLY TO ONE OF THE PARTIES IN A DISPUTE THAT HAS ITS ROOTS IN CENTURIES OF ANIMOSITY AND FOR WHICH BOTH SIDES MUST SHARE SOME RESPONSIBILITY. WE ALL SHARE A SENSE OF ANXIETY AND FRUSTRATION OVER THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. YET THE FACT REMAINS THAT THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE WHAT WE ALL SEEK, A JUST AND

BROADLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT, IS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS VN WHICH WE MAINTAIN MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY WITH ALL THE PARTIES.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS WORKED EARNESTLY TO THAT END SINCE LAST JULY AND WILL CONTINUE TO WORK AS HARD AND AS DETERMINEDLY AS POSSIBLE TO MOVE THE PARTIES TO THE CYPRUS

CONFLICT TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. RECENT US DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN ANKARA, ATHENS AND BRUSSELS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE START OF A GREEK-TURKISH DIALOGUE WHICH HAS DEFUSED THE TENSE SITUATION AND HOPEFULLY LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR GREEK-TURKISH COOPERATION.

AS WE PURSUE OUR EFFORTS, WE SHALL CONSCIENTIOUSLY MAINTAIN AN EVENHANDED APPROACH TOWARD THE PARTIES INVOLVED. WE CANNOT, HAVE NOT, AND WILL NOT CHOOSE ONE PARTY OVER ANOTHER. WE WANT THE CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP OF BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY, AND OUR SYMPATHY AND CONCERN EXTEND TO ALL THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS. WE WANT AN END TO HUMAN SUFFERING AND MISERY, AND THE REBUILDING OF AN ISLAND WHERE ALL CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM AND SECURITY. TIME IS ON THE SIDE OF NO SINGLE PARTY, NO ONE COMMUNITY. THE INTERESTS OF ALL WILL BE SERVED BY INTENSIVE GOOD FAITH EFFORTS AT EARLY ACCOMMODATION.

AT PRESENT, OUR ABILITY TO URGE THIS VIEW PERSUASIVELY IS CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPROMISED BY THE EROSION OF OUR INFLUENCE. I ASK THE CONGRESS' COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE, THEREFORE, IN ENACTING LEGISLATION WHICH WILL ASSURE THAT US INFLUENCE IS NOT FURTHER ATTENUATED AT THIS TIME OF CRITICAL CONCERN IN CYPRUS AND THROUGHOUT THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. END OF TEXT. INGERSOLL

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